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FOLLOWING ARE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON DRAFT PAPER ON
ALBANIA, KEYED TO PAPER'S NUMBERED SECTIONS AND
UNNUMBERED PARAGRAPHS SET OFF BY DASHES.

1. INTERNAL SITUATION. THIS SECTION DOWNPLAYS
INTERNAL ALBANIAN DISSENSION MORE THAN WE THINK
APPROPRIATE.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 217175

A. SENTENCE 4 PARA 1 DESCRIBES ALBANIA'S "SOLITARY
COURSE" AS CAUSING "SOME INTERNAL UNEASINESS"; WE
WOULD CHOOSE THE MORE PRECISE PHRASE "SOME INTERNAL
DISSATISFACTION" IN ORDER TO SPECIFY THAT THE RESULT
IS MORE THAN A VAGUE FEELING OF ANXIETY. SIMILARLY,
SENTENCE 4 REFERS TO "QUESTIONING ATTITUDE": WE
WOULD GO FURTHER AND CALL THIS A "SILENT OPPOSITION"
WHOSE SIGNIFICANCE CAN BE INFERRED, AS THE DRAFT
REPORT RIGHTLY POINTS OUT, FROM ALBANIAN ARTICLES
AND STATEMENTS STRESSING THE NEED TO PRESERVE UNITY.

THE USE OF THE PHRASE "OPPONENTS ... ARE STILL BEING DEBARRED FROM KEY POSTS" GIVES THE IMPRESSION THAT THE DEBARRMENT IS TEMPORARY AND MIGHT READILY BE REVERSED. OUR REPORTS HAVE RATHER BEEN OF PURGES AND SOME EXECUTIONS: HENCE THE LINE WOULD BETTER READ QUOTE OPPONENTS ... HAVE BEEN PURGED. UNQUOTE THIS WHOLE SENTENCE, FROM A STYLISTIC STANDPOINT, WOULD GO BETTER AFTER SENTENCE THREE, PARA 1 (AND THE "THIS BEING SO" OF THE SENTENCE WHICH FOLLOWS "DEBARRED FROM KEY POSTS" IN THE ORIGINAL DRAFT SHOULD THEN BE ELIMINATED.)

B. PARA 2 OF SECTION 1 SOMEWHAT EXAGGERATES HOW BAD THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC STATE IS, AND IN DOING SO, RUNS UP AGAINST THE PROPOSITION AT THE END OF SECTION 3 THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF CHINESE AID WILL NOT HAVE TOO DAMAGING AN EFFECT BECAUSE ALBANIA BASICALLY HAS A SUBSISTENCE ECONOMY. WE WOULD ARGUE THAT THE ASSERTION THAT ALBANIA IS IN THE "THROES OF AN ECONOMIC CRISIS" GOES TOO FAR, IN THAT IT SUGGESTS THE POSSIBILITY OF IMMINENT COLLAPSE. AS A SUBSTITUTE, WE SUGGEST QUOTE IN THE MIDST OF SERIOUS ECONOMIC HARDSHIP. UNQUOTE ALONG THE SAME LINES, THE PHRASE "INSUFFICIENT CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 217175

SUPPLIES OF FOODSTUFFS" IS TOO DIRE: ALBANIA IS BELIEVED TO BE SELF-SUFFICIENT IN GRAIN, AND EVEN EXPORTS SOME. THE PHRASE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE AS QUOTE INSUFFICIENT SUPPLIES OF CERTAIN FOODSTUFFS. UNQUOTE

WE WOULD AGREE THAT FOREIGN TRADE INFORMATION ON ALBANIA, E.G., BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DATA, IS SCANTY (THE ALBANIAN STATISTICAL YEARBOOK HAS NOT GIVEN FOREIGN TRADE BREAKDOWN SINCE 1964); HOWEVER, FOREIGN TRADE INFORMATION CAN BE GLEANED BY EXAMINING THE STATISTICS COMPILED BY ALBANIA'S TRADING PARTNERS, AND THERE ARE SOME ESTIMATES ON TRADE WITH THE PRC. ALSO IN PARA 2 OF SECTION 1, THE INTERNAL REASONS FOR ALBANIAN DIFFICULTIES ARE LISTED; IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO MAKE THE POINT THAT THE ALBANIAN SYSTEM IS NOT ONLY RIGID, BUT ALSO "INEFFICIENT" -- A MAJOR FACTOR IN EXPLAINING ALBANIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. (THE WORDS "INEFFICIENCY AND ..." SHOULD BE PLACED BEFORE THE PHRASE QUOTE ... RIGIDITY OF THE SYSTEMUNQUOTE).

C. AS FOR EXTERNAL FACTORS (PARA 3), THE REFERENCE TO QUOTE CERTAIN PRESSURES EXERTED BY THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS UNQUOTE IS PUZZLING AND WE WOULD INVITE AMPLIFICATION. WE KNOW OF NO SUCH PRESSURES. ON THE CONTRARY, FOR EXAMPLE, TRADE WITH THE CZECHS HAS CONTINUED AT A RELATIVELY HIGH LEVEL DURING THE LAST

SEVERAL YEARS.

2. FOREIGN POLICY. BESIDES THE THEMES OF PRESERVING NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND THE IDEA OF ALBANIA'S ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, WE WOULD ADD A THIRD MAJOR FACTOR IN ALBANIAN FOREIGN POLICY WHICH SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED: KEEPING OUT CONTAMINATING FOREIGN INFLUENCES. WE ALSO DOUBT THE DEGREE OF SOLID "CONVICTION" THAT
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 217175

ALBANIA "IS" SUCCESSFULLY ACHIEVING THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. WE WOULD REWRITE THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THIS SECTION TO READ: "ALBANIA'S FOREIGN POLICY CONTINUES TO BE DOMINATED BY THREE MAIN CONSIDERATIONS: THE NEED TO PRESERVE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC SOVEREIGNTY; THE DREAM THAT THE COUNTRY WILL SUCCESSFULLY ACHIEVE THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, WITH THE CONSEQUENT DENUNCIATION OF ANY FORM OF IDEOLOGICAL REVISIONISM; AND KEEPING OUT CONTAMINATING FOREIGN INFLUENCE-." THE NEXT SENTENCE WE WOULD PREFER AS: QUOTE TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE THREE AIMS, WHICH ARE OFTEN PURSUED WITH A SINGULAR LACK OF FLEXIBILITY, LARGELY ACCOUNT FOR ALBANIA'S TROUBLED ISOLATION AND INSECURITY.UNQUOTE WE DESCRIBE "ISOLATION" AS TROUBLED IN ORDER TO GIVE A FEELING FOR ITS FLUCTUATIONS AND THE DIFFICULTIES ATTENDANT ON THIS COURSE. THE REFERENCE TO AN "ALLIANCE WITH CHINA" IS OUTDATED AND SHOULD BE DELETED. THE LAST SENTENCE OF SECTION 2 (BEGINNING "A PARADOX INHERENT") WE WOULD PREFER TO ELIMINATE. WHILE WE WOULD AGREE THAT YUGOSLAVIAN INDEPENDENCE IS A PREREQUISITE FOR THAT OF ALBANIA, WE WOULD NOT SUBSCRIBE TO THE NOTION THAT YUGOSLAVIA IS A POTENTIAL THREAT TO ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE, DESPITE WHAT ALBANIANS MAY FROM TIME TO TIME INTIMATE. THE YUGOSLAVIAN THREAT IS THE ATTRACTION THAT THE YUGOSLAV SYSTEM AND TITOISM MAY HAVE FOR SOME ALBANIANS.

3. RELATIONS WITH CHINA.

A. THE SECTION ON ALBANIAN-CHINESE RELATIONSHIPS STRESSES THE MOST RECENT PUBLIC DETERIORATION OF THEIR RELATIONS TO THE DETRIMENT OF EARLIER DEVELOPMENTS. WE WOULD THUS REWRITE THE FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA 1 TO READ:
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 217175

QUOTE ON 7TH JULY, CHINA AND ALBANIA DID, IN FACT, CONFIRM THE END OF THEIR INDESTRUCTIBLE AND ETERNAL FRIENDSHIP UNQUOTE, ... RATHER THAN "PUT AN END": THE FRIENDSHIP HAD IN FACT BEEN EXTINGUISHED EARLIER. IT IS

POSSIBLE TO BE MORE EXPLICIT ABOUT WHEN THE DETERIORATION

BEGAN: IN THE SECOND SENTENCE, WE RECOMMEND DELETION OF THE PHRASE "... IS LESS RECENT ..." AND INSERTION OF QUOTE ... BEGAN IN THE EARLY 1970'S. UNQUOTE AMONG THE FACTORS LEADING TO DISRUPTION OF THE CHINESE-ALBANIAN RELATIONSHIP, WE WOULD ADD AFTER THE PHRASE QUOTE ... DEATH OF MAO TSE TUNG ... UNQUOTE THE WORDS QUOTE AND DEFEAT OF THE GANG OF FOUR UNQUOTE: THE GANG'S FALL WAS AN IMPORTANT EVENT IN THE COURSE OF ALBANIAN-CHINESE RELATIONS.

B. IN PARA 2, WE WOULD DATE THE "TURN FOR THE WORSE" EARLIER THAN THE DRAFT REPORT'S 1977. RATHER, SUBSTITUTING FOR THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THIS PARA, WE WOULD INSERT: QUOTE MATTERS TOOK A TURN FOR THE WORSE AFTER THE 7TH ALBANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS IN 1976. UNQUOTE 1977 IS THE TIME WHEN THE DOWNTURN CAME OUT INTO THE OPEN, AS THE DRAFT REPORT OBSERVES IN ITS QUOTE FROM ZERI I POPULLIT.

C. THE SENTENCE IN PARA 3 BEGINNING QUOTE YET FOR NEARLY A YEAR THERE HAD BEEN NO DEVELOPMENTS ... UNQUOTE IS SOMEWHAT MISLEADING AND SHOULD BE DELETED; THE YEAR IN QUESTION MARKED THE REALIGNMENT OF COMMUNIST SPLINTER PARTIES ALONG ALBANIAN/CHINESE LINES. WE WOULD ALSO CLARIFY, IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA THREE, THAT TIRANA QUOTE ... WAS CAREFUL NOT TO DO ANY IRREVOCABLE DAMAGE TO ITS STATE RELATIONS ... UNQUOTE WITH THE PRC; PARTY RELATIONS WERE ALREADY ESSENTIALLY DEAD BY THIS TIME.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 217175

D. A MINOR POINT IN PARA 5: RATHER THAN "FINAL BREAK" WE WOULD INSERT "ALBANIAN REBUTTAL": A "FINAL BREAK" SUGGESTS TERMINATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

E. PARA 7: WE WOULD ARGUE THAT SIGNIFICANT IDEOLOGICAL DIVERGENCIES BETWEEN THE PRC AND ALBANIA HAVE EXISTED FOR A LONG TIME, RATHER THAN GREW, THOUGH THEY HAVE ONLY RECENTLY COME TO THE FORE IN SHARP TERMS. HENCE, WE WOULD SUBSTITUTE "HAVE EXISTED" FOR "HAVE GROWN UP" IN THE FIRST SENTENCE.

F. THE TRADE STATISTICS IN PARA 8 ARE SOMEWHAT CONFUSING. OUR OWN FIGURES INDICATE THE TOTAL CHINESE DEVELOPMENTAL CREDITS AUTHORIZED OVER THE 1961-80 PERIOD WERE 1.1 BILLION DOLLARS; THE ACTUAL AID DELIVERED WAS LESS.

G. PARA 9 UNDERESTIMATES SOMEWHAT THE EFFECT OF

WITHDRAWAL OF CHINESE AID. WHILE WE AGREE THAT THE ALBANIANS WILL LIKELY BE CAPABLE OF COMPLETING UNFINISHED PROJECTS WITHOUT PEKING'S HELP, DIFFICULTIES AND DELAYS -- PERHAPS LENGTHY -- SEEM PROBABLE. THUS WE WOULD APPEND THE PHRASE QUOTE THOUGH DIFFICULTIES AND DELAYS CAN BE EXPECTED UNQUOTE TO THE SENTENCE ENDING QUOTE ... AND EVEN THE ELBASAN STEEL WORKS.UNQUOTE SIMILARLY, THE NEXT SENTENCE, BEGINNING "IN ACTUAL FACT ... " SUGGESTS "THIS" (THE ECONOMY AS A WHOLE?) QUOTE WILL ONLY BE SLIGHTLY AFFECTED. UNQUOTE WE WOULD ASSESS THE EFFECT ON THE ECONOMY AS MORE THAN SLIGHT; ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, AS SUBSTANTIAL. WE WOULD SUGGEST DELETING QUOTE THIS WILL BE ONLY SLIGHTLY AFFECTED, UNQUOTE AND REPLACING IT BY QUOTE THE ALBANIANS WILL BE ABLE TO MUDDLE THROUGH. UNQUOTE THE NEW
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 217175

VERSION, WE BELIEVE, WOULD BE ON THE WHOLE, A FAIRER EVALUATION OF THE CHINESE WITHDRAWAL OF ASSISTANCE: A SERIOUS HANDICAP, BUT NOT A DISASTER.

4. RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA. THIS SECTION GIVES A SLIGHTLY TOO NEGATIVE CAST TO THE STATE OF YUGOSLAV-ALBANIAN RELATIONS.

A. THE PHRASE (PARA 1) THAT THE YUGOSLAV-ALBANIAN RAPPROCHEMENT ... RAN OUT OF STEAM ... IS AN APT DESCRIPTION; THE FORWARD MOMENTUM HAS INDEED BEEN LOST, BUT THE RAPPROCHEMENT HAS NOT RETURNED TO ITS STARTING POINT. THERE HAVE BEEN RECENT FRICTIONS, BUT THINGS STILL REMAIN BETTER THAN THEY USED TO BE: CONTACTS SUCH AS STUDENT/TEACHER EXCHANGES REMAIN AT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN BEFORE THE RAPPROCHEMENT AND ALBANIA CONTINUES TO COME OUT WITH VERBAL SUPPORT FOR YUGOSLAV INDEPENDENCE. STRIKING THE PHRASE "FOR A LITTLE WHILE" (PARA 1, SENTENCE THREE) AND ADDITION OF THE SENTENCE QUOTE ALBANIAN-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS REMAIN BETTER THAN DURING THE PERIOD BEFORE THEIR RAPPROCHEMENT UNQUOTE AT THE VERY END OF SECTION 4 PROVIDE A MORE BALANCED PERSPECTIVE.

B. OTHER MINOR POINTS IN SECTION 4: IN PARA 2, WE SHOULD BE HONEST ABOUT THE "STATE OF MIND" OF THE ALBANIAN LEADERS AND SUGGEST THE ALTERNATIVE WORDING QUOTE THE CONSPIRATORIAL MENTALITY UNQUOTE.

C. IN PARA THREE, THE PHRASE QUOTE ... A NEW DEPARTURE FOR THE ALBANIAN NATION ... UNQUOTE WOULD BE BETTER EXPRESSED AS QUOTE A NATIONAL RENAISSANCE FOR THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE ... UNQUOTE. AT THE END OF THE SAME PARA, THE ASSERTION IS MADE OF "RECENT ARRESTS"; ACCORDING TO OUR INFORMATION, THESE DATE PRIMARILY

FROM THE EARLY 1970'S, AND THUS ARE NOT ALL SO RECENT.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 217175

SUGGEST REPLACING "RECENTLY" WITH "IN YEARS PAST."

5. RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE USSR.

IN THE FIRST SENTENCE, A MINOR POINT: WE WOULD
TURN THE PHRASE "RELENTLESS ONSLAUGHTS" INTO
"RELENTLESS PROPAGANDA ONSLAUGHTS" FOR PRECISION'S SAKE.
MORE IMPORTANT, PARAGRAPH 3 (ON U.S.-ALBANIAN RELATIONS)
GIVES AN EXTREME IMPRESSION OF HOSTILITY. WE HAVE NOT
HEARD OF THE CONTENTION THAT THE U.S. IS PLANNING TO
INVADE ALBANIA AND DO NOT CONSIDER IT REPRESENTATIVE
OF ALBANIAN THINKING TOWARD THE U.S.; FURTHER, ALBANIA
WELCOMES VISITS BY AMERICAN CITIZENS OF ALBANIAN
ANCESTRY, SOME OF WHOM MAKE TOURIST TRIPS EVERY YEAR.
THE IDEA THAT ALBANIA IS EXTREMELY AFRAID OF AND HOSTILE
TOWARDS U.S.-BASED ALBANIAN-AMERICANS IS, THEREFORE,
EXAGGERATED. THE SENTENCE BEGINNING QUOTE ITS CONCERN
OVER THE INFLUENCE ... UNQUOTE SHOULD BE ELIMINATED.
ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN, THE DRAFT REPORT IS
CORRECT IN OBSERVING THAT THE OFFICIAL ALBANIAN
STANCE TOWARD THE U.S. IS HARDLY FORTHCOMING. THE
REPORT COULD BE AMENDED TO REFLECT THE FACT THAT WE
HAVE NEVER RECEIVED AN OFFICIAL REACTION TO DEPUTY
SECRETARY'S RUSH'S APRIL 1973 STATEMENT INDICATING
U.S. READINESS TO OPEN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH
ALBANIA IF THE ALBANIANS WERE INTERESTED IN DOING SO.

6-7. WE HAVE NO MAJOR COMMENTS ON THESE SECTIONS.
ONE ADDITIONAL ASPECT, DEALT WITH ONLY BRIEFLY IN
THE DRAFT REPORT, IS THE EXTENT TO WHICH ALBANIA
HAS RECENTLY INCREASED ITS CONTACTS WITH NON-COMMUNIST
COUNTRIES OR INTENDS TO DO SO. WE NOTE, FOR EXAMPLE,
A REPORT IN THE YUGOSLAVIAN NEWS SERVICE TANJUG OF
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PAGE 09 STATE 217175

AUGUST 11 THAT AN ALBANIAN DELEGATION VISITED INDIA
JULY 29-AUGUST 6. OUR OTHER NATO ALLIES MIGHT BE ABLE
TO SHED SOME LIGHT ON THE EXTENT THE ALBANIANS HAVE BEEN
REACHING OUT TO NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IN TRADE AND
OTHER FIELDS, PARTICULARLY AS THEIR OWN COUNTRIES
ARE CONCERNED.
CHRISTOPHER

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